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doctor agreed with the diagnosis and asked Mrs. Porter to take a bath and call off her power. Mr. M. recovered. A month or so later, however, he was sick again. This time, although Dr. Thomas worked on him for five nights, he could not save him, and he died. Dr. Thomas diagnosed the illness as caused by sorcery but did not name the sorcerer. Mrs. M. and all the members of her family stated that it was obviously Mrs. Porter's power and they made it very uncomfortable for the Porter family. The oldest M. girl finally accused Mrs. Porter in public and attacked her with a club. The situation got so serious that the white superintendent was forced to move the Porters to the Warm Springs Reservation.

Helen and several other people did not believe that Mrs. Porter had done the sorcerizing and stated that Mrs. M. killed her husband herself. They cited all the family fights which the community had witnessed and said that Mrs. M. wanted to get rid of her husband so that she could run around and do what she wanted. They said that she was jealous of Mrs. Porter because she and Mr. M. were so close to each other. They brought up as further evidence the time when Mrs. M. was ill and Dr. Harry had been called in to work on her. They said that at that time Dr. Harry had told Mrs. M. that she was sick from her own power—bad power given to her by a black lizard. Dr. Harry had offered to take the power away, but, according to Helen, Mrs. M. had kept the power. All these accusations were partially motivated by the community's dislike of Mrs. M. They thought that she and her daughters felt superior because they could always get work in town. The daughters were better educated than other girls in the camp and did not run around with young men. Helen also said that it was not strange that Mrs. M. should accuse Mrs. Porter because she was angry with her for hanging around her husband. Helen said it was probably Mrs. M. who told Mrs. Porter to stay behind when they went to Drewsey. Furthermore, it was Mrs. M. who interpreted her husband's dream and expressed her opinion to the doctor. It may have been that Mrs. M. was afraid of being accused of the murder and took these steps in self protection.

However, in spite of this dissenting faction, the community stood behind the family's accusation that Mrs. Porter was guilty of sorcery. They did not stop the M. girl when she took after Mrs. Porter with a stick, and the general state of public opinion was such that the government felt it necessary to move the Porters to Warm Springs. The Porter family's reputation for sorcery was already well established and no one doubted that they were capable of killing. Furthermore, Mrs. M. had relatives who were powerful and ready to defend her.

One of the most notorious women in Burns is Sophie. When I saw her I would have guessed that she was about forty-five years old but from the accounts I have of her life she must be nearer to sixty-five. Her age, however, has not yet terminated her marital career, which is one of the most famous in the history of the Harney Valley band. The statistics vary, some people claiming that she has had ten husbands, others fourteen. Her first husband, whom she married when

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she was very young, was a cousin of Dick Jonas (now about seventy-six) and the father of George Beers (now about forty-five). She left him for Dick Jonas with whom she lived only two weeks; she then left him and went to Crane to stay with her sister. Her next husband, Tom Muti of Fort Bidwell, is the only man known to have left her. She had two children from this marriage; when her husband deserted her she took the children and went to live with a brother. Muti stated that he left her because she was constantly unfaithful. Her next husband was a very good match—Dr. Sam, a famous doctor of the Groundhog Eater band. No one seemed to remember how long she remained married to him, but J. Smith married her next. He was more persistent than her other husbands, and when she left him he pursued her twice and tried to bring her back by force, but she eluded him both times. Dick Jonas could remember three other men she had been married to after J. Smith. One of them was deaf and this marriage lasted only a few months.

Both men and women dislike Sophie, women because she is always stealing their husbands, and men because she is unfaithful and a "tease." The Paiute term used to describe her is probably most closely translated as prostitute; it means, literally, "getting men by making your eyes move all the time." The term, however, is not considered as complimentary, as this might seem to imply. On the other hand, everyone secretly admires or envies her. The women envy her sexual appeal and independence. Another characteristic, fearlessness, has won her both approval and condemnation. As a young girl she was fond of playing practical jokes. One of these jokes which she repeated too often is said to have nearly cost her her life. At the time when the band was still in danger of reprisals from the white settlers, Sophie would give false alarms of danger and force the people to hide in terror. She evidently did this just for fun. Finally, according to the report of one informant, the men banded together and decided to kill her. Even her brother did not protest, but evidently someone warned her, because she fled to Diamond and stayed in hiding until public opinion calmed down.[8]

When Dr. Thomas moved to Burns in about 1931 he did not have a wife with him and, as he was a successful shaman and better off than most of the men of his age, several of the widows about town tried to marry him. When he came back from a trip with Sophie the women were furious. As Thomas's wife, Sophie was relatively safe from aggression, but I noticed that she stayed at home and was seldom seen about the camp.

During the summer of 1938 when Dr. Thomas worked on Helen and Ellen, Sophie attended the doctoring for treatment because one of her eyes was so badly

[8] Informants claimed that sorcery was the only offense which the community punished by death; there were no other similar cases reported and the story was told by only one informant; therefore I think it is improbable that the people intended to kill Sophie. I would guess that their purpose was to scare her or at most drive her out of Burns.

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swollen that she could not see out of it. The doctor, her own husband, said that the swelling was caused by sorcery from a woman in Fort Bidwell. He told her that if she could get her to take a bath she would be all right. All the camp agreed that the woman in Fort Bidwell had sent her power to punish Sophie for stealing her man. The eye did not get better, although the swelling went down. I think that she was losing her sight because of trachoma.

There are several aspects of this case which are of particular interest. In the first place Sophie was treated by her own husband. One would think that personal motives might have made him interpret the illness as caused by some good power which was trying to befriend her. Sarah, who was doctored at the same time, had symptoms not too different from Sophie's. Her complaint was also localized swelling, but in her face and arm. One important difference was that Sarah was generally known to have power which made it possible for her to treat certain eye ailments, and therefore the interpretation that her own power was causing the trouble was feasible. Sophie was an elderly woman who had never been definitely known to have power. When I inquired whether it had ever been said that she had power, some of the women told me that all they had ever heard was that she must have some kind of love power to get so many men, but that this was not an established fact.

Dr. Thomas's diagnosis of his wife's disease met with everybody's approval and checked with the facts known about her career. The only other type of disease which might have been diagnosed was "ghosting." As we have seen, localized irritations are sometimes explained in this way. Sophie was not young and it would have been conceivable that she had dead husbands or relatives who might want her. On the other hand, such diagnoses were most frequently made when the living and the deceased had been closely bound to each other and Sophie's independence would make it seem improbable that any ghost would try to catch her breath.

Another possible explanation for Dr. Thomas' diagnosis of sorcery was that it was a subtle or unconscious move on his part to intimidate Sophie into being more faithful to him than she had been to her previous husbands by suggesting to her that she would be punished by other women. Still another possibility is that by diagnosing sorcery he appeased the other women of the community and tried to reduce their aggression toward Sophie by telling them that she was being punished.

Thus it is evident that the doctor's diagnosis of disease is not fortuitous. In determining the cause of disease, both he and other people interested in the case draw upon all the facts they know concerning the patient and the incidents preceding his illness. In diagnosing the disease, the doctor and the community pass a certain type of judgment on the patient and often they also judge other members of the society. Thus when they determine the cause as failure to obey one's own

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such power ran in his family, and it seems as if he shared the reputation because he was married to Mrs. Porter. He was said to have power in sea gulls. In the account of the death of Polly, reported in the previous chapter, it is interesting that some accused him of the act, and some accused his wife, but everyone agreed that one or the other was guilty. Mrs. Porter's power was in snakes and it was said that all the victims of her power saw snakes or felt them on their bodies. It was also stated by the community that all the Porter children would probably be just like their parents, mean, bad, and dangerous.

In determining how Mrs. Porter got the reputation for sorcery, the first fact which seems important is that her family were already marked as mean people. Although none of them seem to have been in such an uncomfortable position as Mrs. Porter, they certainly were not popular. The two types of behavior attributed to her father and remembered with disapproval were winning at games too frequently, which was attributed to using his power to cheat, and spitting in other people's food. This latter behavior was attributed to jealousy and the wish to have the food for himself.

Seven different people were said to have been killed by Mrs. Porter. I have reconstructed the chronological order of these cases as accurately as possible as it seems important in determining how a reputation is built up. One of the first sicknesses blamed on her was that of a young child. It is stated that during the doctoring of this child, which Mrs. Porter attended, she could not sit still and the doctor stated that her power was responsible for the child's condition. Evidently Mrs. Porter was very nervous and did not challenge the accusation as the doctor is said to have worked on her and with her consent taken away her power. One would surmise that she was in a bad position or she would not have accepted the blame. It may also be that she was young at the time and more sensitive to criticism than she became in later life.

Three other accusations were leveled against her which date from about this period. She is said to have killed her own uncle, a man who specialized in helping women who had trouble in childbirth; and she is also reputed to have killed her own niece. The evidence against her in this latter case was quite damaging as several people are said to have seen a snake crawling around the young girl's neck; one man tried to pull it off but did not succeed until the girl was already dead. The third offense was explained as revenge for theft. Sophie is said to have stolen Mrs. Porter's' beads. Sophie's mother died soon after this episode and Mrs. Porter was held responsible for her death.

About 1930, when the Porters were living in Fort Bidwell, the accidental death of their son precipitated the accusation of sorcery already discussed in the previous chapter. This accusation was backed by the entire community. The circumstantial evidence was damning. The Porter's had publicly blamed the Simms for the death of the Porter boy and in their uncontrolled anger had theatened the family. Soon

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Porter family Mrs. Porter bore the brunt of the accusations; in the T. family Tom was most frequently blamed. Their power was unusual in that they both acquired it, according to the reports, from the Tenino Indian Shaker Church.[1] After they were married they went on a trip to Warm Springs and there attended the Shaker Church and danced with the group. Supposedly by so doing they would get power to doctor. Dr. Thomas had procured his power in this way. The T.'s, however, did not get power to doctor but power in blood which was useful only in killing others.

From the point of view of a study of acculturation it is interesting that Tom T. tried to become a doctor in a new fashion. It is also interesting that the community would accept Dr. Thomas, who had also procured his power in this way, but not Tom. The only type of power which they would connect with his personality was sorcery power. It was also stated by informants that the T.'s could have gone back to Warm Springs and had the power taken away if they had wanted to, but as the situation stood, they had to use their power or it would make them sick and they would bleed through the nose and eyes.

In the early part of her life Sally, Tom's wife, had not, to my knowledge, been accused of being mean. Her first husband, her first cousin,[2] committed suicide. It was said that he killed himself because his mother criticized him for not killing any deer for the family larder. Sally had four children by this marriage. The oldest, a daughter, went insane and was put in an institution. The twin daughters both married and lived in Burns, but seldom visited their mother. Joe, the youngest, was a strange, difficult person as has been indicated in the account of his relationship with his wife, Helen, and his incestuous relations with his stepsister, Betty.

Tom T. is a very domineering person, a powerfully built man of about fifty-five. After the death of Captain Harry, he was appointed chief but was ousted from office soon after because he wanted to make all the decisions himself without consulting the other men. As mentioned previously, in the political situation centering around the struggle to get the reservation back for the Paiutes, he took a firm stand with Peter Hoyle. When the government offered the new land as a way of terminating the suit which Hoyle had instigated, T. tried to prevent any of the group from moving into the new camp. As will be shown, his aggressive stand and the techniques he used in his attempt to keep people from moving, brought two accusations of sorcery against him.

Tom's mother was evidently a domineering woman. Her youngest daughter, Tom's sister, committed suicide, according to reports, because her mother would not let her marry the man she desired but picked out another man instead. The other sister was not a particularly happy person. She tried to commit suicide once

[1] Informants stated that they got their power from *Ka sa gai*, which they translated as the Shaker Church. Although the Shaker Church did exist among the Tenino, it was not important. Perhaps the term refers rather to the Smohalla Cult.

[2] Such a marriage is unusual in Paiute society.

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when her husband beat her. T. senior was a respected man who had two wives. According to reports, however, he was feared by many because of his unbending will and strong convictions.

The T.'s had few friends. Only their immediate relatives ever had much to do with them. Tom's sister and his two children, Betty and Jack, were the only people who maintained a close relationship with them. The rest of the community avoided them.

The first definite accusation of sorcery made against Tom was the sickness of James Howard's young son, Gale.[9] According to reports Tom T., Sally, and James Howard had a quarrel over cards and Tom T. made the son ill. I have no further information concerning this case except that the Howards moved with Gale to Duck Valley to get away from the evil influence of Tom.

Interestingly enough the next accusation made against Tom was also connected with a card game and seems to indicate that he was extremely aggressive when playing competitive games. One Fourth of July there was a game in which Grace White, Tom T., and a Tenino woman were among the contestants. Grace White beat both Tom and the Tenino woman and laughed at them. Tom is reported to have lost his temper at Grace for taunting him. Grace died quite suddenly soon after this and her illness and death were attributed to bad power sent against her by Tom T. This accusation was readily accepted by the large group who had witnessed Tom's outburst of temper.

The last two accusations against Tom were made during the course of the field work and both were connected with the dispute about the land. Pedro died early in the spring of 1938. When I arrived at Burns that summer I was told that he had been killed by Tom T. Evidently, just previous to Pedro's departure to the new camp, Tom had tried to prevent him from moving, and, when Pedro could not be persuaded, Tom lost his temper and told him that if he moved it would be his end and that people would not see him any more. He added that "they would be getting gray for him soon," which may refer to mourning. No doctor worked on Pedro but several witnesses of the feud between Pedro and Tom circulated the report that he had obviously been sorcerized by Tom and most of the community accepted this interpretation of the death.

After I arrived, Paul Horn died and Dr. Thomas at the doctoring before his death accused Tom T. of having sorcerized Paul for the same reason. This case has already been discussed. It was the most overt accusation made against Tom, and was the first time, to my knowledge, that a doctor's diagnosis incriminated him. It was also the most widely accepted of the charges made against him.

Evidently, for the first time, Tom was really frightened by the situation, and, as

[9] Helen once told me that she thought Tom T. was responsible for the death of her father, but no one else seemed to believe this.

754 578 Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home she seemed very kind to them.

[584] All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

[155 328] Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself, that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

157 754 578 Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she [164] had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied [832 837] and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

754 183 155 Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circulated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person.

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca. In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event. However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women. Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

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I asked how she knew this and she told me that once Hetty had been sick and Dr. Harry told her this when he worked on her. Both of these incidents were said to have occurred when Hetty was a young woman and I could get no further information about them. I do not know what type of behavior on Hetty's part called forth the accusation. When I knew her she seemed a well-adjusted, happy person and seemed to get along with her neighbors.

Helen told me that Mrs. M. had bad power in big black lizards. The evidence for this came again from Dr. Harry who worked on her when she was sick. He said that her own power was causing her illness, and that it was bad power in lizards and that she must either obey the power or he could take it away if she did not want it. According to Helen's report, Mrs. M. would not let him take the power away because "she was hungry for it." Helen went on to say that Mrs. M. had really killed her own husband although she had told everyone that Mrs. Porter did it.

Mrs. M.'s personality and behavior have been described in the previous chapter. Her relations with her husband, as reported, indicate how she came to be accused of having killed him. Her treatment of her husband, and her philandering and drinking habits may have been the reason for Dr. Harry's diagnosis but I do not have enough evidence on this. When I knew Mrs. M., she had calmed down and her behavior was not noticeably aberrant. Neither she nor her daughters ever mentioned the fact that she had any kind of power, and when I directly questioned them, they stated that she had none. It would seem that in both Hetty's and her case, rumors concerning them went around at one time when their behavior antagonized the community, but that their present behavior was such that almost everyone had forgotten the accusations. This indicates that it is possible to live down a bad reputation by conforming more closely to the norms of behavior.

From the above cases one can make the following generalizations as to how a person comes to be known as a sorcerer. First, one is accused of meanness and having bad thoughts. This type of behavior is recognized by the community as often resulting from being brought up by mean parents, so that the children of men or women already considered sorcerers or potential sorcerers are most closely scrutinized. Any mean behavior on their part is apt to be taken more seriously than comparable behavior on the part of others. Any behavior which is unfriendly, critical, or excessively aggressive is considered mean. Any behavior which antagonizes other members of the community is defined as aggressive.

The second most important factor in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery is gossip. It is almost impossible to find a single individual in any community who has not been accused by someone at one time or another. But single accusations do not make one a sorcerer. Until the gossip has spread and been accepted by a large group it is not dangerous. A person who has many relatives and friends who will stand behind him and deny such gossip is much safer than a person who has few

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152 Obviously aggression cannot always remain so conveniently pent up. It is
578 inevitable that some of it will be displaced, some of it will burst forth and be
154 overtly expressed, some of it will be expressed indirectly, and some of it will be turned inward. The discussion of the handling of aggression, generated within the family and displaced to people outside the ingroup, will be treated in the next chapter.

[593 Within the family, the overt expression of aggression does sometimes occur.
683] When it does, the outbursts are sudden and violent. Physical violence occurs more frequently between husband and wife than between any other members of the family. Many times during my field work, Helen appeared with some kind of bruise she had received from Joe, usually when he was drunk. On two occasions husbands struck their pregnant wives in the belly and caused miscarriages. Many
[684] stories are told of men who beat their wives for philandering or other offenses. As has been stated, a spouse is relatively unimportant from the standpoint of an
593 individual's security; in a sense, he or she is a member of another family and is not
578 so important as parents and siblings. Hence aggression toward spouses does not
602 damage the functioning of the family. Control of this type of aggression rests in the hands of the parents and brothers of the girl. If a man beats his wife frequently or particularly vehemently, her brother may come to her aid and retaliate physically, or her parents may advise her to leave her husband. If, however, the
[626] girl's family consider that she is to blame, they may lecture her publicly or privately, thus, in a sense, supporting her husband. Social disapproval operates as an indirect check on wife-beating. Men who consistently maltreat their wives acquire a reputation for meanness which, as we have seen, is dangerous.

Physical fights between parent and child do occur, and they commonly give rise to strong feelings of guilt. Louise M. once beat her mother with a stick because she came home drunk. Neither she nor any of her family told me this. Another informant gave me the information. When I talked to Louise about her mother, however, she told me that she would always obey her and that she never would
[151] marry any man that her mother did not like. Louise had an unusually strong conscience and was one of the most conservative girls of her age in the entire community. Whatever her wishes may have been, although I think even these were deeply repressed, she would not go to town without her sister; she did not drink and she seldom went out with any men.

578 During my stay in Burns a very bloody battle took place between Jimmy H. and
593 his oldest son. I entered the house about the time when his wife and the other
152 children had separated the two men. All the young children were crying, and the oldest boy left the house with averted face. The grandmother and other members of the family would not mention the affair.

[762] Evidence of the indirect expression of aggression and of aggression turned inward is seen in the high rate of suicide. Within the memory of informants twenty-

three people had committed suicide out of a population of between two and three hundred. Analysis of the cases seems to indicate that the motivation in every instance was aggression against some member of the person's family and strong guilt because of this hostility.

Of the nine cases of women who committed suicide, three were reported to have taken their own lives because their mothers would not allow them to marry the men they wanted or wanted them to marry some man they did not like. Two committed suicide because their husbands beat them and two because one of their children died. One woman killed herself because she had a fight with her co-wife over a deer hide. No one could remember the details of the other case.

All girls whose mothers prevented them from marrying the man of their choice did not commit suicide. Some married against their family's will and others acquiesced. Betty's case has already been discussed. Her adjustment was to have children illegitimately. Louise and Emma remained unmarried even though they were beyond the normal age for marrying because their mother was contemptuous of the men in the community and had transferred her contempt to them. It would seem that the girls who committed suicide reacted in this way because of additional factors. There seem to me to be two possible explanations for their acts. Either they committed suicide as a supremely aggressive act against their mothers, or because they reacted with strong feelings of hostility and were afraid that their aggressive thoughts would do actual harm. As we have seen, if one has power or is getting power, one is apt to kill members of one's own family first. Perhaps aggressive fantasies against their mothers which came into consciousness frightened the girls and motivated them to take their own lives lest their wishes come true. Their feelings of hostility may have been so strong that they unconsciously wished that they had power to kill.

This same type of explanation can be used to explain the other cases. Concerning the women who killed themselves because their children died we know the following additional facts. One of the ways a woman could show aggression against her husband was by killing her children. Several cases of infanticide were reported in which this motive was cited as an explanation. One woman is said to have killed her only child because her husband would not give her a blanket she wanted. Captain Harry's mother is reported to have abandoned him as a child because her husband threatened to marry another woman and bring her into the house. Actually another woman saved Captain Harry and his mother took him back when her husband returned without the new co-wife. Here again, it will be remembered that when parents are beginning to get bad power they have bad dreams about their children and are apt unconsciously to use their power against them. Following this line of reasoning, the suicide of women whose children died might be explained in terms of fear that they themselves were responsible for the children's death. Perhaps they had feelings of hostility against the children and

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by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in interfamily relations should be reviewed briefly.

Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed, although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably displaced from the family.

Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them. However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless. Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

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mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent practitioner. It must also be remembered that shamans have no organization or society through which the shaman's religious and social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The shaman acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his position only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing, and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke, laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the perpetual gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social dances if he so desires.

More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value, however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others, but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of extensive resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then, be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

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compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.*

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

* Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. [See ref. 116, p. 123-Aw]

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differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar backgrounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors.[7]

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism."[8]

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant.

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worth while to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of religions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration." Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

[7] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.
[8] 1925:868–873.

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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Starber, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text CONTINUES ON top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATURES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	139 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8